

the shattered illusion



AFRICAN STUDENTS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Introduction by Max Yergan

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The American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange is a non-profit educational foundation organized to further better understanding among the peoples of Africa, Asia and the United States in order to strengthen the cause of international freedom threatened by Communism.

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"We have been called black monkeys and jungle people and we were treated like dirt. Whoever among us had leftist leanings has been cured." Thus spoke a disillusioned young African student from Ghana as he left Communist Bulgaria.

In 1960, no more than 6,000 to 8,000 students from Africa and Asia studied in Communist countries. As of this writing, their numbers have increased to more than 18,000. The following pages report briefly on the experience of some of the African students who had accepted scholarships from various Communist countries—and how they fared. The American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange is publishing this report in an effort to prove the blatant hypocrisy and racism which lies beneath the Communist mask of "anti-colonialism" and "friendship and solidarity with the new nations of Africa." This mask is held firmly in place through one of the most effective propaganda machines the world has ever known. Such propaganda has captured the imagination of many young Africans and, more surprising, has tricked many of the presumably more sophisticated leaders of Africa, Asia and the United States.

The young African students who accepted Communist "friendship" have seen the reality behind the mask. Yet in spite of their experiences, which have been widely reported

throughout the world, there are still those who will be beguiled by Communist words and will still pretend that the brutal facts do not exist.

"Africa, the awakening giant" is an often-used cliché but it is a valid cliché. The great continent of Africa, and the new nations which have been carved out, is, indeed, awakening. In particular, it is the youth of Africa that is being stimulated by new ideas and, in turn, are stimulating the entire Continent. These young people—for the most part the children of tribal peoples in the jungle, of illiterate workers in the rich mines of Africa, of the nomadic peasantry of the Continent—all thirst for knowledge and for learning. The youth of Africa are like a great dry sponge with a seemingly incalculable capacity for absorbing learning and techniques and philosophy and technology.

The Communists have taken full advantage of this and have offered young Africans scholarships and fellowships in Communist universities with promises of free tuition, housing, and, in effect, the "easy life" in the groves of the Communist Academy. These promises were all an illusion as the young Africans discovered. Even if the Communists wanted to keep them, they couldn't. There is no "learning" under Communism; there can be no intellectual honesty or progress based on fact or truth. All intellectual pursuit is governed by the State. The State is truth, and knowledge is what the State decrees. Thus, the illusion shattered and the African students found themselves face to face with the bitter reality of life under Communism.

We hope that the following pages will shed the hard light of fact on the continued Communist propaganda in Africa. Most important, we hope that it will help to show that Communism is anything but a philosophy or an answer. Rather, it is a hollow juggernaut bent on world conquest and utilizing every weapon at its disposal—the strongest weapon being the gullibility of free men.

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Twenty-five angry young Ghanaians recently left the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, for Vienna. They reported a possible exodus of some 500 other disgusted and disappointed African students from Communist Bulgaria and they charged the Bulgarian Government with various acts of racial discrimination.

One Ghanaian put it bluntly: "We have been called black monkeys and jungle people and we were treated like dirt. Whoever among us had leftist leanings has been cured."

The cause of their grievances was fully justified on even more profound grounds. These African students had traveled behind the Iron Curtain in order to learn skills and professions with which to return to their homes better equipped to serve their newly independent countries. But, during their studies, they said, they not only were openly insulted on the streets but they were fed over-dosages of Communist doctrine in the classrooms.

"We soon realized that to study in a Communist country was a bloody waste of time," said one of the students.

The travails of the African students shocked the world, particularly Africa. Back in Accra, the Ghanaian *Times* expressed its "shock and dismay" over Bulgaria's violent treatment of the students. The *Times*, Ghana's leading newspaper, is not ordinarily given to criticizing Communist countries. Said the *Times*:

"If we condemn the need for armed soldiers

to ensure James Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi, we are entitled to condemn any form of prejudice against African students in Bulgaria. Too many nations are under the illusion that they can come to Africa, screaming friendship and equality, while in their own homes the black man is an object of scorn."

Racial discrimination against Africans in Communist countries is nothing new, of course. The Bulgarian episode is only the latest and most dramatic incident of its kind. But it again emphasized the hypocrisy of Communist spokesmen when they repeatedly challenge the West — and particularly the United States—on racial practices.

No one will contend that the United States is perfect on the subject of race relations. Neither can anyone say that the United States is not facing up to the problem willingly and resolutely. It is a subject which dominates the news in the United States. Books and articles on race relations are published in great numbers. Various organizations devote considerable time to efforts aimed at solving the problem of second-class citizenship in a free society.

There are an estimated 50,000 foreign students attending American colleges and universities. A good percentage is from Africa and Asia. But not once has anything like what happened in Sofia, Bulgaria, on February 2, 1963, ever occurred on American soil.

The African youths first got into serious difficulties with Bulgarian officialdom last December when they formed their own All-African Student Union. The union was temporarily "tolerated," then banned.

On February 11, the executive committee of the student union waited in vain for five hours to present their grievances to Bulgarian Premier Todor Zhikov, who had promised to see them. That evening, police turned up at the student hostel with orders to arrest their leaders. This was what triggered the African student demonstration in downtown Sofia the following morning. Robert Kotey told of the episode in these words:

"About 200 Africans marched on Lenin Boulevard. The Communists met us — 600 strong, in about 60 jeeps and 10 buses. They were armed with pistols and clubs. They did not shoot, but they showered us with their clubs. Three of them would jump on one African and hold him down while another

militiaman would hit him over the head. Many of us were injured, but not seriously. We were forced into the buses and driven to prison. We were released on the same day upon request from our Ambassador, Appan-Sampong."

The Ghanaian Ambassador said he was called to the Foreign Ministry after the demonstration, where he was handed a note of complaint.

"I rejected the note because it was incorrect," said the Ambassador. "Our people behaved peacefully, but they were beaten up."

The Bulgarian Government news agency, BTA, confirmed the episode, reporting that several Africans were ordered out of Bulgaria for "gross violation of public order and for abuse of the hospitality rendered to them." The news agency said the students had been informed that "when forming a new organization the established law in this country ought to be observed." But BTA did not say how an African students union would have violated the law.

BTA said that only forty or fifty students were involved, adding: "A number of demonstrators were arrested, but released later."

However, Ambassador Appan-Sampong reported that not all of the arrested students were released. Several remain unaccounted for. There is the case of Tatah Tawia, the president of the All-African Students Union. The Ghanaian Ambassador has made official representations to the Bulgarian Government regarding Mr. Tawia. On February 15, Victor Zorza reported in the *Manchester Guardian* as follows:

"Mr. Tatah Tawia had been put by the Bulgarian police on board an aircraft that left Sofia for abroad, but his passport was still with Mr. Appan-Sampong. The Ambassador has made repeated inquiries about the destination of the aircraft, but he has been refused all information."

The vice president of the student union was a young Ethiopian student leader, Amlak. He was also arrested by Bulgarian police on February 11 and has been missing ever since. The Ethiopian Ambassador in Belgrade, Mr. Petras Sahlou, told newsmen that "despite our efforts to clarify the situation, the Bulgarians have not told us yet where Mr. Amlak is."

Such is student life behind the Iron Curtain—persecution, arrests, disappearances.

What was the dispute all about?

The 500 African students in Sofia—from Ghana, Guinea, Cameroun, Togo, Kenya, Ethiopia, Mali and Nigeria—had sought to form a kind of union to serve as a clearing house for complaints about housing, poor and overcrowded living conditions, political indoctrination and difficulties with the Bulgarian language.

An unauthorized union of that type has no place in the Communist curriculum, and Bulgarian authorities threatened to expel the union officers. The threat, plus the refusal of the Bulgarian Premier to give the students an audience, brought the Africans marching into the streets.

The cause of the trouble is not confined to Bulgaria. The basic issue is that the Communist authorities of the host nations want the Afro-Asians to belong to student unions that are under Communist control. The purpose is more effective security, supervision and political indoctrination.

By way of contrast, foreign students in the United States can form, or belong to, any kind of organization they desire. In fact, foreign students in the U.S. are encouraged to participate in such extra-curricular activities. There is no official Government supervision of these activities. This, probably, is the major difference between free and totalitarian systems of education. It is a vital difference, as many African students now know.

Ambassador J. L. Appan-Sampong, who accompanied the students to Vienna, told correspondents that "all of the African students in Bulgaria would have left if they had had the necessary money."

Most of the estimated 500 students from eight African nations were on scholarships granted by the Bulgarian Government.

Just what kind of scholarships was described by a Ghanaian student of economics, Kofi Buckle: "Our educational program called for one year of studies of the history of the Russian and the Bulgarian Communist parties apart from our regular studies. In the beginning we were forced to take political courses—Marxism, Leninism, etc. When we refused, we were told that we would not be allowed to continue our regular studies unless we accepted political lessons. Finally, the Bulgarians gave in and skipped political exams. But we still had to take indoctrination classes. We

soon realized that to study in a Communist country is a bloody waste of time."

A 26-year-old medical student from Nigeria, Audu Kwasau Abashiya, told this story: "I have left Communist Bulgaria because I didn't want to live in a country where black people are not treated like white people. I am one of many Africans who have suffered from racial discrimination and quit. There will be more Africans leaving. One year as a student in Bulgaria has taught us a lesson about Communism.

"I was born in Kwoi, northern Nigeria. As a Protestant, I received my primary education in a mission school. I attended the Federal Science School, Lagos, for medical sciences. From childhood my ambition was to be a medical doctor.

"I quit the Lagos school to study in Communist Bulgaria through a Nigerian pro-Communist organization. The Nigerian Trade Union Congress gave me a scholarship from the Bulgarian government. Refusing to heed the advice from my relatives and friends, I arrived in Sofia in March 1962—just to be used against my government by the Bulgarian Communists.

"The Bulgarian language took me three intensive months of study, but here I learned about Lenin, Marx and Engels, too. It was only the beginning of Communist indoctrination. In my faculty we were warned that Lenin's teachings are a necessity to all good doctors.

"Public lectures were arranged for me to condemn my government, which I rejected. I was taken on tours to speak bad of my government and the Western powers in Nigeria. They were not happy when I told the people of the number of universities, hospitals and factories we have in Nigeria. Radio Sofia wanted me to broadcast only about British and American exploitation in Africa. The Communists do not like to hear that your country has any universities and hospitals.

"Many Bulgarian citizens keep on hoping to see a chance so that they can escape from their country. They told us how the best of their agricultural products are sent to Russia every year and prices for foodstuffs keep on rising. An economist in the Ministry of Agriculture told me that he would not mind working for five years without pay just to get Nigerian nationality.

"We used to stop medical classes to see Russian professors and cosmonauts who gave us lectures on the success of Communism. The standards of our medical education were very low. We had to spend so much time on political indoctrination and classes on Marxism-Leninism that little was left for medicine.

"As a Christian I was in that habit of attending service every Sunday. In order not to get the pastors of the churches into trouble I had to go from one to the other so that my constant attendance in one would not be noticed by the secret police.

"We were called upon to demonstrate and write protest letters to President Kennedy on the Cuban crisis while the Bulgarian boys studying with us were withdrawn to get prepared for war at any moment.

"I believe that Communism cannot thrive in Africa, where we have many traditions, cultures and religions."

The Bulgarian clash is symptomatic of discontent among students from newly independent African nations studying in Communist lands.

The Associated Press recently reported that "many of the thousand or so African students behind the Iron Curtain have been quietly leaving during the last year and are now enrolled in Western European schools. . . . It is known that more than 100 African students in Moscow have applied at the United States Embassy for help in transferring to American schools."

The reasons they gave were the same—disillusion with life under Communism as compared with the promises made to them before they left Africa.

In Moscow, like Sofia, the Communist authorities have prevented the formation of an All-African Students Union. Most African students are segregated in what the Russians call the "People's Friendship University."

The Africans' resentment rose when they learned that white foreign students were permitted to attend Moscow University, where they mix with Russians. The Africans say that their university—housed in buildings once used as military schools—is inferior to Moscow University, which is headquartered in a skyscraper in the Lenin Hills.

These African youths have repeatedly challenged Mr. Krushchev's claim that "we will

not impose our views, our ideology, on any foreign student."

Ever since the opening of the Friendship University in October 1960, the Soviet Government has gone to great pains to persuade the governments and student populations of uncommitted nations that the Communist offer of scholarships and training facilities is purely in the interests of education, and free from political pressures.

The Soviet Government was said to have "only the wish to help backward countries train highly qualified cadres," but though the Communists have often, and anxiously, repeated this declaration they have been unable to check increasing criticism of excessive surveillance and interference with life at the Communist universities.

As far back as March 23, 1961, *La Presse du Cameroun*, published in Douala, declared that "the Soviet Union's so-called disinterested friendship for Africans is the biggest fraud perpetrated in our times." It told the story of Michel Ayih, a Togo Republic student who spent two "interminable" years in the Faculty of Medicine at Moscow University before being expelled for refusing to be a "yes" man. In telling of his experiences, Ayih said he was keeping a promise made to his African colleagues still in Moscow.

Ayih's story began with an invitation to the Communist Sixth World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957, when he and his fellow-Africans were feted for three months and "even given secretaries." Later he realized that the "secretaries" were informing on the Africans, but at the time he believed everything was wonderful and he applied for a United Nations scholarship to study medicine in Moscow.

"The gray reality was very different," Ayih continued. His first difficulties arose when he and other Africans wished to form their own union, as students studying in foreign universities do everywhere in the non-Communist world. But the Communists would allow no group to be formed outside Party supervision.

"We only wished to get together, and when we persisted in meeting in our rooms, the trouble started," said Ayih. The students were denounced as "agents of imperialist colonialism" and subjected to petty persecution. "Such persecutions—and the Soviet students themselves were victims—made us realize we had been a lot freer in Africa, even in the colonial

era, and in Paris we never had such control."

Particularly grating was the Russian contempt for Africans: "They think we have been left to live primitive lives of misery, that we are a bit like savages—just monkeys dressed up to look like men."

Ayih had found it difficult to have Russian friends even for general conversation, for the Soviet police "watched every move and immediately interrogated people with whom we made such contacts." He added: "If we had dinner with a family, then that family would receive a visit from the security authorities afterward. Our hosts, of course, preferred not to invite us again.

"Young girls have been arrested in the middle of the street because they were strolling with black students. Others had to appear before the Komsomols, and were watched night and day by their comrades from the Communist youth movements. We avoided making any further contact with the Soviet people so as to prevent trouble for them and us.

"We soon realized that the Soviets had invited us to Moscow solely to convert us to their ideas, and to send us back to our own countries to sow revolution. Otherwise, we were of no interest to them. They only seek to use us."

Every field of study, including his own field of medicine, was given a Marxist slant which Ayih found "irritating and hateful." Students were asked to make propaganda statements on Marxism and Soviet policy. They were "bullied" if they refused. Ayih himself persisted so long in refusing that he was eventually expelled from the university and deported from the Soviet Union.

Then there was the case of an Ethiopian student named Mustafa who grew disenchanted with the Communist "indoctrination through education" program long before it erupted into an international sensation with the revolt of African students in Bulgaria.

Mustafa has since left Moscow and is now in West Germany. But there are hundreds of others behind the Iron Curtain who would leave if they could. To be sure, the Soviet Government guarantees the students transportation to and from their home countries, but the return passage cannot be used until the student has been in the Soviet Union five years.

Mustafa's experience was a typical example of the Communist bid to influence rising generations in the developing countries of Asia and Africa. He came to Moscow late in 1961, not exactly starry eyed about Communism but eager to study his trade—servicing aircraft—and with what he describes as “an open mind about politics.”

The first disillusionment came when he found that he and six other Africans were lodged in two small rooms at Friendship University, where it was virtually impossible to study and where they were cut off from contact with Russian and white Westerners.

Mustafa's complaints were those of many other foreign students:

(1) He had already learned one foreign language, English, and he resented being forced to spend his first year learning a second, Russian, and doing nothing else except to attend compulsory courses on Marxism-Leninism. This is the rule for all students from Africa and Asia but the rule does not apply to American and other Western exchange students.

(2) He found, when technical studies began, he was learning exclusively how to deal with Soviet planes, whereas Ethiopian airlines have only American equipment.

(3) He hated the food. “We Ethiopians eat meat,” he said. “In Moscow we got only soup, cabbage and bread.”

(4) He resented the fact that he and other African students got a Soviet allowance of only \$99 a month whereas American and other Western exchange students got approximately three times as much.

But it hurt his conscience to find that he and his fellow Africans were getting three times as much as the Government allowed its own citizens.

“I don't really mind the Americans getting so much,” he added, “but why should I get three times as much as the Russians?”

Mustafa finally decided to quit Friendship University. He approached the United States Embassy for help. Officially, the Embassy could do nothing. But through other Westerners, Mustafa was put in touch with persons who make it their business to help people in his situation. As a result, Mustafa succeeded in leaving Moscow. He is now studying his specialty in Tubingen, West Germany.

The story of another man's growing disillusionment and final rejection of Soviet Communism has been serialized in the Nigerian *Sunday Times*. Chukwuemeka Okonkwo readily conceded he was no innocent who fell prey to Communist blandishments.

Before he left his homeland, he had convinced himself that "the salvation of Nigeria and of Africa lay in close association with the Russians." This was no snap assessment. Okonkwo read everything he could lay his hands on about the Soviet Union and Marxism-Leninism. He was impressed by Soviet offers of assistance to Africa.

"On the basis of what I had read," he wrote, "I formed a mental picture of a perfect society, devoid of social, economic and political injustices . . . a highly-organized state, potentially greater than any other . . ." Soviet support for Nigeria's self-determination seem "on the surface . . . selfless and without ulterior motive."

Despite family pleadings, Okonkwo eventually obtained a United Nations scholarship to study in the Soviet Union. It is not difficult, as he points out, for African students to get to Moscow: "Only a few of us were on UN sponsorship; the others came without valid documents or passports. They were given mere chits . . . stamped by Soviet officials in Russian embassies and intelligence agencies operating throughout the world. Others were recruited at the Youth Festivals organized by Soviet strategists."

It is made easy, Okonkwo explained, because a foreign student without proper papers is at the mercy of the Russians, who will use him as ruthlessly as they desire. . . . His presence can be denied. There are many African students in Moscow today without passports. They are lost in the hug of the big Russian bear. Many of them want to return; but they cannot."

But this knowledge came much later. When Okonkwo and his fellow students first arrived in Moscow, they were spoiled and feted—their living conditions and lack of restrictions were the envy of their Soviet counterparts. They were allowed to mix with the Russians. "It was hoped no doubt that they would influence us." But the reverse was true. The Soviet students had never experienced such free and open discussions and questions in class—"they could not understand this at first; but they too began to imitate us because

we . . . got away with it." The inevitable followed: "The authorities called a halt to fraternization. They put us in separate hostels and gave us passes . . . From your hostel, through the Russian sectors to the classroom, you had to use three passes!"

Many of the African students had a grudge against the West for what they considered "the injustices of colonialism," and were gently urged to make rabidly anti-Western statements and broadcasts favorable to the Soviet Union. "We did not know it then, but later it dawned on us that not only were the Russians striving to convince the world of their own system, they were hard put to it trying to convince their own people about Communism. And that after more than forty years of Communist rule!"

The so-called Soviet-Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee also organized meetings at which the African students lectured the Russians, denounced imperialism, etc. They received great ovations. They were reported and photographed over and over again. Only later did they discover that such material was immediately transmitted to Africa for use as propaganda among Africans.

The Soviet authorities also used the students to contact African social, cultural and political organizations and invite their members to visit the USSR: "When such delegations arrived they were shown round Soviet showplaces and the Russians stopped at nothing to impress them."

Only when Okonkwo and his friends began to recognize the real Communist aims did their real troubles begin. "Today," he later wrote, "I know that Communism in theory reads better than any ideology on earth; but I know also that Communism in practice is the most oppressive, the most abominable and the most inhuman government machine that has yet been evolved . . ."

Added Okonkwo: "Nigeria must never fall prey to Soviet propaganda. I have seen Soviet methods at work. Their propagandists will pay heavily for a page of denunciation in the West. We must ask ourselves if Nigeria's counter-intelligence is ready to combat Russian methods. Because with their embassies will come hundreds of Russian propagandists and strategists. Make no mistake about it. The Communist lords want to expand their ideology. To achieve this they will use every subtle method, employ the most ruthless tactics, even plot with traitors."

Okonkwo's revelations of the indignities, restrictions and physical attacks suffered by Africans studying in Moscow are shocking. They demonstrate that the real purpose behind the Soviet invitations to foreign students is first, to impress them, then use them for Communist propaganda purposes, convert them to Marxism-Leninism and finally send them home to further Kremlin's imperialist aims.

The only tenable explanation is that with years of indoctrination and repression behind them, the Soviet authorities responsible for looking after visiting students are quite incapable of making an objective assessment of their guests' background, outlook and aspiration. They treat the Africans like ordinary Russians subject to the Soviet regime's vast disciplinary apparatus.

As Okonkwo recounted, things became so unbearable for the African students in Moscow that they drew up an appeal—amounting to an indictment of nearly every aspect of Soviet Communism—with the intention of sending it to African government leaders so that their fellow-citizens at home could be dissuaded from accepting Soviet scholarships. The Soviet authorities suppressed the letter and it was not published until Okonkwo reached the Free World—virtually a refugee from Communism.

The appeal was drawn up by the Executive Committee of the African Students Union in Moscow which represented nationals from Algeria, the Camerouns, the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, the Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Uganda. It had been formed when the students finally tired of Russian control over the so-called Soviet-Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the way its African and Asian members were exploited for Soviet propaganda and political campaigns.

In an effort to frustrate the formation of the student group, the Soviet authorities put repressive restrictions on the African students: the import of foreign text-books and jazz records and the holding of "bull-sessions"—impromptu debates—were banned; friendly Soviet students suddenly became very distant; several Africans were unexpectedly "flunked" in their examinations; and others were beaten up in mysterious circumstances.

The appeal stated its aim in unequivocal terms: "to call attention of all African gov-

ernments to the deceits, the threats, the pressure, the brutality and the discrimination" which the students had suffered at Soviet hands. It added: "We further wish to stress the great danger Communism is to true Africanism. We hate colonialism and racial discrimination in any form, wherever it may appear."

The first complaint concerned the way conflicts between the Soviet authorities and the Africans had been distorted throughout the world by the Communists' vast "propaganda apparatus." It described how, in order to lend credence to their version of such disputes, the Soviet authorities had "tried to buy the endorsement of African students . . . and to exert other pressures on African students to attest to falsehood. The Soviet authorities have unfortunately succeeded in a few cases . . ."

The appeal continued: "We accuse the disastrous ambition of Communist dictatorship and its bureaucracy that have brought terror and fear to much of the world. The cases that follow show the true nature of Communist 'friendship' for African peoples."

The student document then described the experiences of S. Omor Okullo, of Uganda, who with others had spoken to Western correspondents about their living conditions. Soviet propaganda charged they "had joined the imperialist camp." In fact, according to the appeal, they had spoken out because "free opinion is muzzled in the Soviet Union, because the servile Soviet press cannot publish any dissenting point of view, and because the mockery of democracy that operates in this totalitarian dictatorship does not recognize the individuals."

When Okullo was deported from the Soviet Union, his fellow African students requested an explanation. They were told that Okullo was guilty of stubbornness, reaction, spying and association with Western diplomats. None of these claims was substantiated.

The Soviet press added more nonsense: Okullo had failed his exams and had turned immoral and alcoholic—charges which, said the appeal, were also false. But still Soviet propaganda was unsatisfied: "*Moscow Radio* officials came to the university offering large sums of money to buy the consciences of African students against Okullo. These officials were angrily rebuffed . . ."

The propagandists then found a fellow-travelling Sudanese student who, although he

hardly knew Okullo, allowed himself to be pressured into making false statements about him. Several Arabs were bribed to attack him at a press conference and, finally, two Somali students were paid to fly to London and give false statements about the affair to the Communist *Daily Worker*.

The appeal also described the experiences of Benjamin Omburo, from Kenya, who was beaten up by Soviet police after he had complained about their taking the name of a Soviet girl who was his friend. Another incident concerned a Somali who got into an argument with a Communist student at a party: "The student mobilized the help of three friends who made friendly gestures and at the end of the party invited him to their rooms. Unsuspecting, he followed. They led him downstairs and beat him unconscious."

The student letter also complained about the humiliations that they—and the Russian students—had suffered as a result of friendships: "Hundreds of fine Soviet students have been punished for their associations with foreigners." It reported the statement of a teacher who had told Russian students that they should be ashamed of themselves for intimacy with Africans who were "low down in the West" and had been brought to Moscow "to be impressed with the Soviet way of life." It detailed the plight of Soviet girls married to foreign students who were refused exit visas.

The appeal attacked Soviet writers for presenting false pictures of the African situation—in an effort to strengthen the Soviet peoples' faith in their system—and their refusal to correct errors pointed out to them by Africans. It repeated a Soviet journalist's report in *Vechernaya Moskva* of August 10, 1960, in which he compared the Senegalese to chimpanzees and described the masses as poor and diseased.

"Yet," the appeal added, "the Soviet authorities do not allow visitors into the stinking slums in their country where poverty, disease and ignorance are rampant. They prepare showcases for visitors, who go home without seeing the Soviet Union as it really is."

The height of discrimination against foreigners was reached when the Soviet Union decided to open the People's Friendship University: "To build a separate university for Africans, Asians and Latin Americans is an insult to these people; it violates the tradi-

tional concept of a university as an open institution for learning, irrespective of race, religion or origin. If African governments want to send their students to the Soviet Union, they should stipulate the conditions under which these students study and ensure that their people are not subjected to undue or humiliating pressures from the Soviet authorities."

With their knowledge of what Communism really means, the students concluded their appeal: "We do not want Communism in Africa; we cannot be loyal to any organization that would pervert Africanism . . . We want support for the justness of our cause . . . and not in exchange for subservience. . . . We cannot compromise with colonialism or imperialism in any way or form and we cannot accept force, deceit, subversion, and terrorism as means of spreading ideologies."

Thus by seeing the true face of Communism, these African students learned what it means to live in a Communist society. Their illusions, fed by Communist propaganda, were shattered. The cost of this lesson was cheap, indeed, if compared to the bitter historical lessons of entire peoples and nations who have fallen under the ruthless, aggressive heel of Communist imperialism.

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